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## JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

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### XII. JERUSALEM IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

In spite of Herod's undertakings the general appearance of the city remained the same as it had been in earlier times. The southeast hill, or Lower City, was inclosed with its original line of fortifications, and was known as the City of David, or the Akra. In it the Tomb of David was still shown (*Ant.*, xiii, 8:4; xvi, 7:1; *War*, i, 2:5; *Acts* 2:29). The name Ophel still clung to the region immediately south of the Temple (*War*, v, 4:2; 6:1; vi, 6:3). The Temple stood on the same spot as Solomon's Temple, and was defended on the north with the wall that Solomon had built. The southwest hill, or Upper City, was still inclosed on the north and west with Solomon's wall (No. 2) and on the south with Hezekiah's wall (No. 3). The ancient gates were still in use, although their names seem to have changed. The Mishneh, or Second Quarter, added by Manasseh's second wall on the north (No. 4), was still a distinct part of the city and was known as the Fore-City or Suburb (*πρόδρομον*). Many of the Old Testament names for places in the vicinity were still in common use. Among these may be mentioned Kidron (*John* 18:1; *War*, v, 2:3; 6:1; 12:2; vi, 3:2), Gihon (*Ant.*, vii, 14:5), Siloam (*Luke* 13:4; *John* 9:7; *War*, v, 4:1; 9:4; 12:2; vi, 7:2; 8:5 *et al.*), Solomon's Pool (*War*, v, 4:2), and the Mount of Olives (*Matt.* 21:1; 24:3; *Mark* 13:3; 14:26; *Luke* 19:29, 37; 21:37; 22:39; *John* 8:1; *Acts* 1:12; *Ant.*, xx, 8:6; *War*, v, 2:3, 4, 5; 3:5). On the whole, Jerusalem in the time of Christ was still practically the same city that it had been in pre-exilic times, and was full of interesting associations for one familiar with the Old Testament. As Jesus walked its streets, or looked down upon it from the surrounding hills, he must often have been reminded of the kings, prophets, and psalmists of ancient Israel.

On account of the hostility of the Jewish authorities, Jesus never took up his abode in Jerusalem. Nazareth remained his home, and

he came to the capital only for occasional visits. For this reason the connections of the gospel history with the holy city are fewer than might have been expected. The first three references are to the Temple. Luke 2:22-39 records that when Jesus was thirty-four days old he was brought to be presented in the Temple with a sacrifice of a pair of turtle-doves according to the law of Lev. 12:6, and was blessed by the aged Simeon and Anna who recognized in him the long expected Messiah. This presentation must have taken place in the Court of the Women. It probably occurred at the Beautiful Gate, where a flight of steps led up to the Court of Israel. Here the priest received the offerings from the mother and carried them to be sacrificed on the altar.

The second visit, as narrated in Luke 2:41-50, was at the feast of Passover, when Jesus was twelve years of age. On this occasion he must have entered the Court of the Men of Israel with Joseph, and have performed the ceremony by which he assumed the obligations of an adult Israelite.

The third visit is the one narrated in John 2:13-22 immediately after Jesus' first appearance as a teacher in Galilee:

And the Passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And he found in the Temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting: and he made a scourge of cords, and cast all out of the Temple, both the sheep and the oxen; and he poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables; and to them that sold the doves he said, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise. . . . The Jews therefore answered and said unto him, What sign showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. The Jews therefore said, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days? The stalls of the traders and money-changers must have been situated in the Great, or Outer Court of the Temple, the Court of the Gentiles, and were probably near the chief entrances. If, as is commonly supposed, the concluding words of the Jews refer to the literal Temple and not to Jesus' body, they are an indication that this event occurred in 26 A. D., since the Temple was begun by Herod in 20 B. C.

The fourth visit, as recorded in John 5, was at the time of an unnamed feast. On this occasion Jesus healed a lame man at the Pool of Bethesda. In a previous discussion of the location of the Pool

of Bethesda,<sup>1</sup> reasons were given for holding that Bethesda is to be identified with the Gihon of the Old Testament, the modern Virgin's Fount in the Kidron Valley south of the Temple.

The fifth visit (John 7:1—10:21) was at a feast of Tabernacles. Entering into the Temple he taught "in the treasury" (John 8:20). The expression "treasury" seems to refer to the large boxes with trumpet-shaped mouths for gathering alms that stood on either side of the Court of the Women. As he was leaving the Temple Jesus saw a man blind from his birth, and after anointing his eyes with clay, he said to him, "Go, wash in the Pool of Siloam." The man went and washed, and returned with his eyesight restored (John 9:1-7). Siloam is the pool, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, that lay at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley.<sup>2</sup>

The sixth visit (John 10:22-42) was at the feast of the Dedication in winter. Jesus was walking in Solomon's Porch, the eastern cloister of the Outer Court of the Temple, when the Jews came to him and began to discuss the old subject of his messianic claims. His assertion of oneness with the Father so enraged them that they sought to kill him, and he was compelled to withdraw himself beyond the Jordan.

The seventh and final visit of Jesus to Jerusalem was at the time of the last Passover. On Palm Sunday he made his triumphal entry into the city, coming from Bethany over the Mount of Olives. The gate by which he would naturally enter the Temple would be the eastern one. This was the Gate Shushan that lay on the site of the modern Golden Gate.<sup>3</sup> On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday of Passion Week Jesus taught in the Temple.

On Wednesday he rested at Bethany, and on Thursday he once more entered Jerusalem to eat the Last Supper with his disciples. The place chosen was an "upper room" (Mark 14:15; Luke 22:12). The subsequent mention of the young man who accompanied Jesus to the Garden of Gethsemane, and who left his garment in the hands of the rabble and fled naked (found only in Mark 14:51 f.) suggests

<sup>1</sup> Article III, *Biblical World*, March, 1907, pp. 180-82.

<sup>2</sup> See Article III, *Biblical World*, March, 1907, pp. 179 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Schick, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins*, Vol. XXII (1899), pp. 94-101; *Biblical World*, August, 1907, pp. 12 f.

that the young man was Mark the evangelist, and that the "upper room" was in the house of Mary, the mother of Mark. The place where the disciples met during the interval between the crucifixion and the ascension (Luke 24:33; John 20:19; Mark 16:14) is in Acts 1:13 called "the upper room where they were abiding." There is no reason to doubt that it was the same "upper room" in which the Last Supper was eaten. Here "all with one accord continued stedfast in prayer, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren" (Acts 1:14). Here Matthias was chosen to fill the place of Judas (Acts 1:26). Here the Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1-4). Subsequently (Acts 12:12) we are told that Peter, after his escape from prison, "came to the house of Mary, the mother of John whose surname was Mark; where many were gathered together and were praying." This confirms the conjecture that the Last Supper was celebrated at the house of the mother of Mark, and shows that it continued to be used as a meeting-place by the infant church in Jerusalem. Now Epiphanius<sup>4</sup> declares that when Hadrian visited Jerusalem (in 132 A. D.),

He found the whole city cast down to the ground, and the Temple of God trodden under foot, except a few buildings and the little church of God on the spot where the disciples, returning after the ascension of the Savior from the Mount of Olives, had gone up to the upper room; for there it had been built, that is, in the quarter of Zion, the church which had survived the destruction and parts of the building on Zion.

There is no difficulty in supposing that memory of the location of the mother-church of Christendom survived the fall of Jerusalem; and that when the Christians returned to the city, they held their assemblies on the ancient site. The church seen by Hadrian may well have been the lineal descendant of the original church. From this time onward there is an unbroken chain of tradition identifying the so-called Cenaculum, at the southern end of the western hill, with the first church of Jerusalem and the "upper room" of the disciples. In this case, at least, ecclesiastical tradition seems to be trustworthy, and it is probable that in the Cenaculum we have the genuine scene of the Last Supper. The building now lies outside of the city-wall, and is in the hands of the Moslems, who call it the Tomb of the Prophet David. In the

<sup>4</sup> *De Pond. et Mes.*, xiv (ed. Dindorff, iv, 17).

center of the complex of Arab buildings are remains of an ancient Christian church.<sup>5</sup>

From the Last Supper Jesus went out across the brook Kidron to the Garden of Gethsemane (John 18:1). Kidron is the stream so often mentioned in the Old Testament as lying east of the Temple, and the Garden of Gethsemane must have been one of the numerous olive groves that covered the western slope of the Mount of Olives. The traditional Greek and Latin Gethsemanes have no ancient tradition in their favor, but are doubtless in substantially the correct position.

In the garden Jesus was arrested and was taken to the palace of the ex-high-priest Annas (John 18:12), and thence to the palace of Caiaphas, the actual high-priest (John 18:24). Tradition finds the palace of Annas in the vicinity of Herod's Palace, and the palace of Caiaphas a little north of the Cenaculum. This is substantially correct, since the high-priests of this period are known to have had their residences on the southwest hill. The house of Ananias, son of Annas, was burned at the same time with the Maccabean Palace (*War*, ii, 17:6).

From Caiaphas Jesus was taken to the Praetorium to be tried before Pilate (John 18:28 ff.; 19:9; Matt. 27:27; Mark 15:16). Tradition identifies this with the Castle of Antonia at the northwest corner of the Temple inclosure, but the best modern authorities are agreed that it is rather to be identified with Herod's Palace. All the Roman procurators of whom we have any record occupied the Palace when they were administering the government in Jerusalem. Thus Sabinus was quartered here in 4 B. C., during the interval between the death of Herod and the confirmation of Archelaus (*Ant.*, xvii, 9:3; *War*, ii, 2:2). In like manner in 66 A. D. Florus was stationed here. It is highly probable that it was also the residence of Pilate. In fact, the description of the trial of Jesus bears the closest resemblance in its local color to the trial of the Jews before Florus (*War*, ii, 14:8 f.). The Pavement (John 19:13) was doubtless the open place in front of

<sup>5</sup> See Zahn, "Die *Dormitio Sanctae Virginis* und das Haus des Johannes Markus," *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Vol. X (1899), pp. 377 ff.; Mommert, *Die Dormitio und das deutsche Grundstück auf dem traditionellen Zion*; Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, pp. 77-87.

the Palace. In this case the Via Dolorosa, leading from Antonia to the Church of the Sepulchre, must be regarded as spurious.<sup>6</sup>

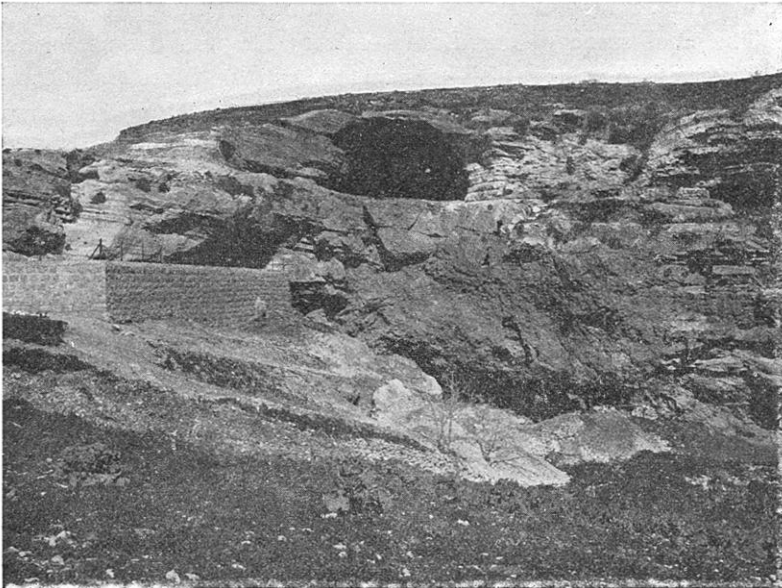
From the Praetorium Jesus was sent by Pilate to Herod Antipas, king of Galilee (Luke 23:6-12). After Judea became a Roman province, and the procurators took possession of Herod's Palace, the princes of the Herodian family resided in the old Palace of the Hasmoneans whenever they visited Jerusalem. Here dwelt Agrippa II in 66 A. D., when he came up to try to pacify the Jews (*Ant.*, xx, 8:11; *War*, ii, 16:3). Here also we must suppose that Herod Antipas was quartered when he visited Jerusalem at the time of the Passover.

Herod Antipas sent Jesus back to Pilate at Herod's Palace, and Pilate sentenced him to death. Jesus was then led *outside* of the city wall to be crucified (Matt. 27:32; Mark 15:20; John 19:17-20; Heb. 13:12), and was buried "in the place where he was crucified" (John 19:41). The traditional site of the crucifixion and entombment is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the northern hill of Jerusalem. The historical evidence for this site is neither very old nor very trustworthy. Eusebius<sup>7</sup> tells us that Constantine (in 326 A. D.) sent orders to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, to search for the true cross. He nowhere tells us that Macarius knew a tradition in regard to the location of Golgotha; in fact, he expressly informs us that the tomb of Christ was found "contrary to expectation;" and later historians assert that the discovery of the spot was miraculous. When one considers the ease with which holy places have been identified and are still identified by interested ecclesiastics, one is not sure that Macarius must have had the best of historical evidence before he gratified the emperor by informing him that the True Cross and the Holy Sepulchre had been discovered. From the time of Constantine onward there is an unbroken chain of evidence connecting the basilica that Constantine reared over the supposed Sepulchre with the modern Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but that does not help to bridge the gap between Constantine and the time of Christ. The traditional evidence here is evidently of a very different sort from that which is offered in support of the Cenaculum. All that can be said is, that if the site of the Church

<sup>6</sup> See Spiess, *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, p. 23; Kreyenbühl, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. III (1902), pp. 15-22.

<sup>7</sup> *Life of Constantine*, iii. 25 f.

of the Sepulchre lay outside of the second wall on the north, which was the outer wall in the time of Christ, then it is possible that it marks the scene of the crucifixion and entombment. This is more than doubtful, since no satisfactory archaeological evidence has yet been produced of the existence of a second wall on the north *inside* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1884 Schick, in the service of the Russian Palestine Society, traced a hypothetical second wall inside



*Photograph by L. B. Paton*

#### CONJECTURAL SITE OF GOLGOTHA

of the Sepulchre. This wall has found a place on a number of recent maps, but the most competent Jerusalem archaeologists are agreed that there is no proof that the masonry which Schick found ever belonged to a city wall. In a previous discussion of the course of Manasseh's wall<sup>8</sup> the evidence has been presented which goes to show that the second wall on the north (No. 4 on the plan) followed substantially the line of the present north wall of the city. In that case the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre lay inside of the

<sup>8</sup> Article IX, *Biblical World*, September, 1907, pp. 173-78.



city-wall in the time of Christ, and, therefore, cannot be the true scene of the crucifixion and entombment.<sup>9</sup> Where the real place was must always remain a matter of conjecture. Many have thought that the bare rocky hill north of the city, outside of the Damascus gate, which bears a singular resemblance to a skull, is the true Golgotha, or "Place of the Skull," where the crucifixion took place, and that a rock-hewn tomb at the foot of this hill was the place of burial. All that can be said in support of this theory is, that this hill looks like a skull and that it lay outside of the city-wall in the time of Christ.

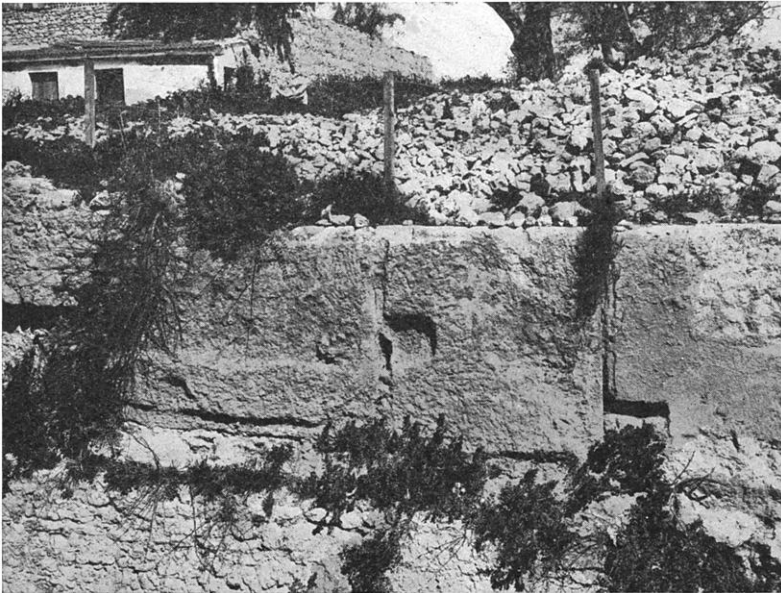
The final scene of our Lord's earthly life was the ascension. According to Acts 1:12 this took place from the Mount of Olives ("over against Bethany," Luke 24:50). This is the well-known mountain on the east side of Kidron opposite to the Temple.

During the period between the death of Christ and the fall of Jerusalem the most important architectural undertaking was the erection of the third wall on the north in 40-41 A. D. by Agrippa I. This wall is described by Josephus (*War*, v, 4:2) as beginning at the Tower Hippicus at the northwest corner of the Old City, running thence to the Tower Psephinus, thence past the monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene, through the Royal Caverns, past the Fuller's Monument, to the northeast angle of the Temple. If, as we have seen, the second wall on the north must be identified substantially with the present north wall of the city, then Agrippa's wall must be sought outside of this line. In 1838 Robinson found numerous large stones that he believed to have belonged to it still extant in the fields north of Jerusalem, and he was able to plot its course from the northwest corner of the city to the Nâblus Road. Old residents of Jerusalem well remember the time when great drafted stones such as Robinson observed were to be seen in the open country to the north. The growth of the modern city has, however, obliterated all these remains. For a distance of a third of a mile from the present north wall the land has been thickly covered with houses, and the ancient stones have been broken up to use as building material. Yet, in spite of this work of destruction, traces of this wall still occasionally turn up, and in the side of a cistern

<sup>9</sup> See Wilson, *Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*; Paton, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on Its Supposed Site," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV (1905), pp. 199-205.

east of the Nâblus Road and back of St. Stephen's Church three great drafted stones are still visible that may have belonged to it. On the strength of this evidence I have followed Robinson in plotting the course of this wall (No. 5) on the map.<sup>10</sup>

The region added to the city by this wall was known as the New City, and included the Bezetha quarter north of the Temple. In it were situated the Camp of the Assyrians, where Titus encamped after



Photograph by L. B. Paton

#### STONES THAT MAY HAVE BELONGED TO AGRIPPA'S WALL

the capture of the outer wall (*War*, v, 7:3), the Wood Market (*War*, ii, 19:4), the Wool Market, the Bazaar of the Smiths, and the Clothes Market (*War*, v, 8:1), in regard to whose precise location nothing very definite can be said.

Other buildings of the same period as Agrippa's wall were the Palace of Bernice, the sister of Agrippa II (*War*, ii, 17:6), which

<sup>10</sup>See Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 465 ff.; Merrill, "A Section of Agrippa's Wall," *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 158 f.; Paton, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on its Supposed Site," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV (1905), pp. 205-11.

was situated near the Palace of the Hasmoneans; the Palace of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to Judaism, who took up her abode on the southeast hill in 46 A. D. (*War*, v, 6:1; vi, 6:3); the Palace of Monobazus, her son, in the same quarter (*War*, v, 6:1); and the Palace of Grapte, a relative of King Izates of Adiabene, also on the southwest hill, but near the Temple (*War*, iv, 9:11). Agrippa also enlarged the Maccabean Palace by the addition of a great banquet-



*Photograph by L. B. Paton*

#### TOMBS OF THE KINGS

hall, from which he could observe all that went on in the Temple. To prevent this the Jews built a high wall on the west side of the Temple. Agrippa and Festus, the procurator, tried to have it removed, but Nero at the request of Poppaea allowed it to remain (*Ant.*, xx, 8:11). The tomb erected by Helena of Adiabene for herself and her family lay near the third wall on the north (*War*, v, 4:2; *Ant.*, xx, 4:3). It is doubtless to be identified with the so-called "Tombs of the Kings" near the residence of the Anglican bishop.

In 66 A. D. the war of rebellion against the Romans broke out, and

in 70 A. D. the siege of the city was begun by Titus. After a long and stubborn resistance, which necessitated that every wall and every quarter of the town should be conquered separately, the city at last fell in September, 70 A. D. The Temple and other principal buildings were burned, and Titus gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, except the wall inclosing Herod's Palace, that was left as a fortress for the Roman garrison. With this event ancient Jerusalem came to an end. Up to this time the life of the city had been uninterrupted, in spite of all the disasters that had befallen it, and the thread of historical tradition in regard to localities had not been severed; but after this event there was no longer any continuity with the past. When, sixty years later, Hadrian built Aelia Capitolina upon the site of Jerusalem, there was little left to remind one of the former city, and no one to transmit the memory of its greatness. Aelia was a new city without connection with its predecessor. At this point, accordingly, which coincides with the latest references in the New Testament, it is proper that we should conclude our study of Jerusalem in Bible times.